/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a 122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the [354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb [301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white 123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable [126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοωπις. -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

●562 [554] [302] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 345 353 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 532 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 166-162/.

/59 cont./

123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people; I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established; when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [276] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kχato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was ● [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
●562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
[177] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/214 cont./

171 462 meanwhile the woman invented agriculture. The women, as all over Brazil, have exclusive charge, not only of the mandioca preparation in the house, but also of its cultivation. They clear the ground of weeds with pointed sticks, place in the ground the pieces of stalk with which the mandioca is transplanted, and daily fetch what they need, which they carry home in heavily packed back-baskets. The man, on the other hand, plants the tobacco which the woman does not need. On the Schingú the woman already voices a strong opinion; in more primitive circumstances she may actually have been a beast of burden and of work, and even today she must stay away during most of the festivals and animal dances of the men. But let us consider the situation somewhat more closely. The man is more courageous and more agile, to him belongs the hunt and the practice of arms. Where fishing and hunting still play an important part, therefore, insofar as there is any division of labor, the woman must concern herself with procuring the rest of the food, with its transport and preparation. The division is not arbitrary, but one of natural circumstances; yet it has the insufficiently appreciated result that in her field of work the woman acquires her own knowledge, just as the man does in his. This must necessarily hold good on every lower or higher level. The counterpart of the Indian woman's carrying on mandioca cultivation with wise understanding is already found in the pure hunting culture. /215/ The Bororó woman went into the forest armed with a pointed stick and looked for roots and tubers; in connection with the roving expeditions through the campo or wherever a band of Indians changed their residence, such hunting was the task of the woman while the man pursued animals; climbing, she fetched down the palm nuts and dragged home heavy loads of them. And if the [562] Indian woman was subordinate to the man, this position certainly was no benefit to her in the distribution of fish and meat; she

*"After the men have eaten comes the turn of the women and children, who must often be

/219 cont./

174 773 their civilization by Nu-Aruak women is shown in their tribal legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Keri and Kame, the former of whom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Aruak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Aruak side is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kame is the leader of the Nu-Aruak and other tribes; Keri, of the Bakaïrí. Everything that Keri and Kame undertake in the best interests of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother; the woman who always first points out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

[562]

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fire-makers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of the animal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "queimada," a civilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Procedure on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and tinder-technique. Prehistoric vagabonds and Prometheus. Confirmation by experiment.

If I have already been obliged in the previous chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú with respect to their general culture-historical value, I shall be even less able to avoid doing so in connection with the subject that I am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingú Indians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbing pieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasant delusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I should simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, who are still unfamiliar

/298 cont./

171 345 535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do, they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise, at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/298 cont./

*171 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and
535 mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to
●562 the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the
345 entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low
562 that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/.

[797] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely
535 covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference

[825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish:

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

*171 591 844 *171 604 [593] /331 cont./ see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

*171 601 *171 123 602 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585 *171 582 586 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations; the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

*171 ●562 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/332 cont./

*171 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly
●562 applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had
681 no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere
123 of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes
674 of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very fre-
123 quent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at
674 the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose
[648] because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with
*171 us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and
186 without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same
[754] time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

/365 cont./

773 Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and kámе, kámu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed; many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

[5.2]

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return.

773 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of
173 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

[P.90-A]

	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batoví:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

36/ While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utanári*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisé*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasára*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

34/ In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoéti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoéti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

25/ In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kunagéru* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kunagéru* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *taddúwu* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigéru* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapari* in some of their dances.

533 535 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *ortko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *palowudto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawoiadri*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *malulawári*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinudto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*enjéintabienli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Waura SP18

of different lengths, closed at one end. Two or three of the pipes are played in unison. Though the intervals between the lowest note and the next two in the scale are well defined, there seems to be but a very slight difference, if any at all, in the pitch of the notes produced by the shorter pipes. This type is used for practicing the music and for personal amusement, but not in ceremonies. They are easily made and are carried about frequently. Though different sets may be pitched differently, the note intervals seem to be the same, at least in the three sets that are in the University Museum collection, though they were collected from the Bakairi, the Naravute and the Kalapalo. [Plate XIX, 7.]

In the Yawalapiti village, the two chiefs used pipes made of bamboo. Instead of five, they consisted of three pieces, the longest of which measured over one and a half metres. The three notes produced, though different in pitch, corresponded to the three lowest notes produced on the pipes described above. In this particular ceremony, each of the men in turn played what may be called the lead part, while the other played the accompaniment.

Single end-blown flutes, such as are illustrated in Plate XIX, 6, are common to the entire area. They were seen in the Tsuva, Yawalapiti, and Naravute village, and apparently were known to the Bakairi and to peoples of the other villages. They are made of taquara, and to be played they must be well soaked in water. The upper part is so cut out that when the flute is played the chin rests on it. At the other end, there is a narrow aperture. Four holes control the pitch of the notes. It was noted that the note intervals were the same as those of the Pan's pipes. They are used strictly in the ceremonies, and the sight of them is prohibited to the women, death being feared for failure to observe the tabu. However, not only are the women permitted to listen to them, but they are listened to with great pleasure. It was the women that prohibited the men to sell them to us in the Tsuva village, and in the Yawalapiti village, the women pretended to weep when it was decided to let us have them. Three flutes are played together in the ceremony. Both the flutes and the office of playing them in the ceremonies seem to be inherited.

Another flute, smaller than the above mentioned, was obtained at the Yawalapiti village; it differs from the others in that close to the top

[text continues on p. 163]